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184 Therefore the flora is different; and furthermore the
137 soil is not suitable for *adobe*, so that most of the houses
342 are of cane, straw, or wattle.

438 Differences in altitude and in aridity produce differences in the sorts of natural products of these eight villages; thus it comes about that villages have agricultural and economic specialties. San Juanico furnishes *tejocotes* (*manzanillas*), and a variety of medicinal herbs which grow only at a high altitude. San Andres, situated on a limestone ridge, contributes the lime, burned in its kilns, in which all maize is cooked. Santiago is a warmer and better-watered village than the others, and its inhabitants supply tomatoes, sugar cane, and sapotes. The people of Ixcatepec specialize in honey, and those of arid Santa Catarina often bring acacia pods (S. *guajes;* N. *huexi*).

443 This economic specialization facilitates exchange at the bi-weekly market. Every Wednesday and every Sunday morning fifty to a hundred vendors gather in the central *plaza* of Tepoztlán. Some of these are from Tepoztlán itself, some from the tributary hamlets, and a few from villages outside the community. The merchant simply squats on his heels on the *plaza*, or under the *portales* in front of the permanent shops, or he may sit on a stone, displaying his wares in little piles. For the privilege of occupying such a space the municipal government exacts a "floor tax" (*derecho de piso*). The positions taken by the merchants do not vary substantially from week to week, nor, indeed, from generation to generation; those from each sur-

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can be observed, it would seem, in the diffusion of tools and rational techniques from *los correctos* to *los tontos*.

The materials which can be offered here are too scanty to permit even a beginning of such a study. They are indeed inadequate to give a balanced description of all the commoner practices in connection with life-crises. But they may be offered so that the merely depictive aspect of this study may be more nearly complete, and so that the cadence of a Tepoztecan life may be at least outlined.[1]

A pregnant woman keeps largely to the seclusion of her own home. There are no important taboos on women during pregnancy. "If she suddenly wants to eat something, and cannot get it, she takes *tzacxochitl*[2] so that the child will not fall." After three months of pregnancy she goes to the *barranca* to bathe. She may do this many times before the birth.

When the time of delivery comes, she is assisted by a midwife [S. *partera;* N. *amantecatl*]. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord with scissors, measuring four fingers' length from the child. Then the cord is carefully tied with cotton thread which has been doubled or quadrupled and the end of the cord is burned well with a tallow candle in order that it may not bleed. Tallow from the candle is put on the thread, and the child is tied up with a band. In about three days the cord will fall off, but every day until that time fresh tallow is put on. When the cord has fallen, tallow is put on for the last time. The umbilical cord is preserved

[1] The materials on birth customs were secured by Margaret Park Redfield. They were nearly all obtained from one informant, a woman of middle age, who had borne nine children. She represents the typical *tonta;* and it is probable that what she described is characteristic of the majority of births in Tepoztlán. Information on marriage customs is much less complete; it was obtained from three informants, two *tontos* and one *correcto*. That on death customs is more complete, and probably the customs here vary little from family to family. The writer attended many funerals.

[2] *Laelium* sp. She takes an infusion of the pseudo-bulb.

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178 776 *ahuahque* are the mountain-dwelling, terrifying gods of thunder and rain, and are not connected with disease.

755 757 These limited materials suggest that in general the medical treatments in use in Tepoztlán are like those of all folk communities—a stock of traditional curative acts tending to be ritualistic. But, to a certain [369] extent, there is available to an afflicted invididual the choice of applying remedies of the city. Not a few have lived in the city and have learned to use some of [278] the drugs in official pharmacopeias. One or two in- [444] dividuals in Tepoztlán keep a few commercial drugs on hand for sale. There are drug stores in Cuernavaca, and not infrequently an individual, even a *tonto*, [484] will walk there to secure a medicine. A prolonged [752] toothache, which has survived the ministrations of the herbalist, may cause the sufferer to go to Cuernavaca to have the tooth extracted.

177 757 It might be supposed that this choice of remedial systems would in time bring about an experimental attitude on the part of Tepoztecans and favor the extension of rational conduct in the treatment of disease and the corresponding diminution of magical behavior. A collection of cases might show the mech- [369] anisms of the process. What affect the city ways are having on the attitude toward disease is, however, probably slowly felt, and so far the traditional cures [759] are paramount. During two or three months of 1925 or 1926 a Bulgarian doctor,[1] one of the few Europeans

[1] Known to the Tepoztecans as a German.

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The *curanderos*, on the other hand, are prejudicial to the health of the people and are a definite impediment to the realization of national health programs. In view of our brief example, no blanket statements can be made; each institution must be examined in the light of its social function in the community.

The new occupations in Tepoztlán consist of the millers, chauffeurs, bus line

Fig. 19. A corn mill.

employees, tile and brickmakers, and druggists.[9] In all there are 41 individuals who work in these occupations. All the men who work for the bus cooperatives are members or sons of members of the cooperatives. Such membership is a prerequisite for employment. Tile and brickmaking are technically not new occupations, since these trades were practiced on a small scale prior to the Revolution. During the years of the Revolution and the hard times which immediately followed, the trade lapsed. In 1934 it was revived and now is growing steadily. The tile and brick makers produce only for the needs of the village.

[9] The ropemakers and charcoal makers listed in Table 19 are occupations of long standing and were mentioned by Redfield, although an accurate comparison of the expansion in these occupations cannot be given here because Redfield did not state the number in 1926.

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There is a belief that if an eclipse occurs during a woman's pregnancy, the child will be born with some part of his body missing; that is, it will have been eaten by the moon. To prevent this the mother should wear a pair of scissors under her sash. An earthquake will also cause some physical defect in the child.

There are no diet restrictions for pregnant women. There is a widespread belief that the pregnant woman should satisfy any food whim, otherwise she may suffer a miscarriage or a premature birth, or the baby may be born with skin colorations. Many subsequent difficulties are assigned to the failure to satisfy food whims. It is the husband's obligation to provide his wife with the food she wishes. But women do not make frequent or unreasonable demands, particularly if their husbands are not "good" to them.

Women who are nauseated during the second and third months are treated with herbs which are said to decrease the water in the abdomen. Many women do not take this treatment because of the restriction in diet and movement that follows. They may not go out into the street for three days, they may not go to the fields or to the stream, they may not stand near a water jug.

There are no restrictions on sexual intercourse during pregnancy, and many continue to have intercourse up to the time of birth. No special positions are used in the last months to protect the fetus.

When there are signs of miscarriage, the midwife tries several remedies. The patient may be asked to recline on a *rebozo* or cloth and is then moved or jerked two or three times from one side to another by means of the cloth. Another remedy is to soak an old tortilla in water of *nixtamal* or vinegar and place it on the small of the back. A mixture of the following herbs is also used: *tlatlazcametl*,[6] *camotito de San Diego*,[7] and *muicle*.[8] To this some midwives add wine, chocolate, leaves of *Santa María* (*artemisa*),[9] and a gold earring to be boiled with the mixture. Miscarriages are not frequent, and when one occurs the woman is often blamed for bringing it about by carelessness.

Induced miscarriages are fairly common. But the frequent deaths in such cases deter most women, and it is said that women who try to "cure" themselves will have to account for their behavior on Judgment Day. Miscarriages are said to cause *paños* or brown discoloration of the skin, so that women who suffer from this are believed to have aborted frequently. To bring on delayed menstruation, many women drink *muicle*. Ground *chayotillos* with salt may be taken, or a tuber *aboyote* may be used. Another way is to use the same preparation which brings on labor. The ingredients are as follows: opossum tail (*tlacuache*), *pimienta gorda*, *sasalik*, and *tlatlatzcametl*. Sometimes women will bring about a miscarriage by deliberately lifting heavy objects. Many women, and particularly unmarried girls, secretly go to

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[6] *Monnieras tomentosa*, a very well-known plant. See Maximiano Martínez, *Las Plantas Medicinales de México* (México, D. F.: México Ediciones B[illegible], 1939), p. 330.

[7] Unidentified.

[8] *Jacobinia spicigera*, *ibid.*

[9] Unidentified.

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847 *curanderos* in other villages to "cure" themselves. However, the only approved method of limiting the number of pregnancies is to avoid intercourse as long as 842 possible after the birth of a child.

BIRTH

844 When the baby is expected, a curtain is hung to screen the bed of the expectant mother, and delivery takes place behind this. Poorer families hang up a *petate*. When labor pains begin, the midwife is called. Occasionally the husband will assist the wife, but the majority of women are embarrassed by his presence and insist that he leave. One of the underlying beliefs throughout the delivery is that difficulty is due to "cold" and that "heat" must be applied. The patient lies on a *petate* on the floor, and the midwife massages the abdomen, the back, and the hips, with various [278] heated oils and unguents. These may be oil of violet, white lily, rosemary or almonds, or [illegible], depending upon the midwife. The heat and the massage is to [784] warm the infant, loosen it, and make it slip out more easily.

The patient is then given a mixture of *tlatlaxcamatl* with chocolate, sherry, and [278] egg, to make the labor pains stronger, or *pimienta gorda* is boiled and given. The abdomen is massaged and rubbed all the while, and the mother is wrapped in a blanket to make her perspire. A *ceñidor*, or sash, may be tightly bound around the waist at this time to keep the back from weakening and the bones from spreading and to prevent hemorrhage later. The patient may kneel at this stage, and the baby is delivered on the *petate* and wrapped by the midwife in a clean, warmed, old cloth. If it is a dry birth, the mother is given more *tlatlaxcamatl*. In cases of difficult 845 or delayed births, the family, at the suggestion of the midwife, may buy a candle for 782 the Virgen de Monserrat, the guardian of pregnant women. The patient measures four fingers on the candle, a mark is made at that point with a centavo, and the candle is put before the image. If delivery does not occur before the flame reaches the mark on the candle, the case is considered very grave.

845 Delayed births are sometimes attributed to the fact that the woman does not bear down at the proper time, and attempts are made to eject the child by provoking [825] nausea and vomiting. This may be achieved by putting a chicken feather or the tail [278] of an opossum into the woman's mouth.[19] The tail is sometimes cooked and given as a drink. The woman may also be given her husband's urine or the dirty soapy water in which he has washed his hands. It is believed that when a woman in labor breathes out or screams every time she feels pain, the child rises instead of descends. The mother is given something to bite on, usually her braid, and is told to keep her mouth closed. Even speaking is discouraged. It may be such practices, found in [152] many parts of Mexico, which have led observers to describe Mexican Indian women as stoical during childbirth. In Tepoztlán, women frequently pray and scream when they suffer severe pains, and only the *más valientas* are quiet.

Difficult births and extended labor, sometimes over several days, are not uncom-

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[19] In Trinitarian, the woman's braid is forced down her throat.

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mon. Without exception, our informants described labor dramatically, with emphasis upon the pain. "It is death to bear a baby" is a common sentiment. Some look back at labor with shuddering and expressions of horror, even fifteen years after the birth of their last child. Midwives report that many mothers are severely frightened during and after delivery and must be calmed by being heated with a smoky fire. *Pericón* or rosemary or laurel, or all three, are burned in an old clay pot, and the strong smelling smoke is directed underneath the blanket to heat the woman's lower parts.

After the child is born, the *cenidor* is tightened around the upper part of the abdomen to prevent the blood and the placenta from rising in the mother and possibly causing her death. If the afterbirth is slow in coming, it is a common custom to put salt and onion into the mother's hand so that she can smell them, and she is given some mint leaves to chew. Sometimes a very hot tortilla is placed on the right side of the abdomen and pressed down by the midwife. In very delayed cases some midwives insert their hands to try to pull out the afterbirth.

The afterbirth is buried under the hearth. It is believed that if it is left anywhere else, the baby's face will swell; if it is thrown into the corral, as some do, it may cause *daño;* if it is eaten by a dog, the mother will die. The umbilical cord is cut with a scissors about 4 or 5 fingers away from the child. The remaining cord is tied with a thread and burned with a few drops of wax from a tallow candle. The wax is applied every day until the cord drops off. The umbilical cord is generally kept inside the house and saved to be later used in the treatment of some eye diseases. Some sell the cord to *curanderos* for about twenty-five centavos each. Many believe that only the umbilical cord of the first child or the first son is effective. When a child is born in a caul, it is said he will be rich. The caul is carefully saved for good luck.

Only an occasional woman in Tepoztlán has her child delivered by a doctor. Somewhat more frequently he is called in after delivery if there is some difficulty. The high cost of calling a doctor from Cuernavaca [11] made it prohibitive for the great majority of the families. However, even those with money do not generally call a doctor, particularly a male doctor. The prudishness and suspiciousness of the women are a major inhibiting factor. Women who have used a doctor have become the target of much malicious gossip.

The following quotation from a woman of one of the large barrios is an example of the nature of the gossip, in this case concerning a local schoolteacher. "First she called a *curandero,* and her baby was born, and everything was fine. But she sent for a doctor just to have him feel her, to play with her because that is what she wanted. The midwife said that when the doctor arrived he uncovered the patient and put in his hand and after he played with her he sewed her up. Then he grabbed the baby by the belly and he had it hang that way as though it were his toy. He could have killed him! But that is what they wanted. As for me, for nothing in the

[11] Now there is a doctor in the village.

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844 759 626 world would I let a man doctor take care of me. It is better that the child be born alone." This attitude, encouraged by the midwives, is very widespread, even among women who have lived outside the village or who have had more education.

POSTNATAL CARE

844 846 When the delivery is over, the mother is lifted onto a board and up to the bed or *tepexco*, if she uses either of these. If there is no one to lift her, she may get up herself without danger, for she is still "hot." She is wrapped in a sheet to prevent getting *mal aires*. The midwife binds the mother around the abdomen and tucks in a *muñeca*, a piece of rolled up cloth. The purpose of this *muñeca*, which is placed over the abdomen so as to bring pressure upon it, is to "fix the matrix." As far as we could ascertain, there is no magical or symbolic qualities connected with this *muñeca*, and there is little attempt to make it resemble a doll.[12] Clean cloths which are washed and replaced every day by the girl's mother or mother-in-law are placed between the patient's legs. Her soiled clothing is removed and she is given an old-fashioned *huipil* made from a large square cloth and slipped over her head. A skirt, made from a large cloth, is wrapped around her hips and legs. The mother is not bathed until the next day, for she is still "hot." After a bath of warm water she is dressed in clean clothing. The temporary *huipil* and skirt are then used as diapers for the baby. The mother is not completely bathed again until the first *temascal* or sweatbath.

The baby is wiped with clean old rags and is bound with a strip of cloth, doubled over the umbilicus and tied with a string. Some mothers prepare a belt for this purpose. [278] The child is wrapped in warmed cloths, usually cut from his father's old shirt or pants. Some midwives drop lemon juice into the baby's eyes and give him a spoonful of castor oil as a purgative. The child is not washed until the following day because water will chill him.

846 262 The mother's diet for five days after the birth is poor and provides little nutrition. She is given cinnamon and water and a roll soon after the birth. If she has after-pains she is given honey and alcohol. At the next mealtime she eats toasted meat and tortilla, and for the next five days her diet consists of *atole*, cinnamon tea, and rolls. Some women take only cinnamon tea, tortilla, a small piece of cheese, and warm water during this period. Milk, coffee, and chocolate are thought dangerous when taken alone because they "chill" the ovaries, but some of the more modern women take a little coffee with milk. All food restrictions cease when the woman

[12] Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 136-37. Redfield states, "She [the midwife] makes a doll of rags and ties this against the patient's abdomen." According to Redfield, this doll is removed forty days later at the time of the *cacamiza* and "on that day the rag doll symbolizing the child in the womb is taken from its place on the mother's abdomen." Although we made repeated inquiries among women of all ages and degrees of sophistication we could find nothing which would justify this interpretation of the symbolism of the so-called doll. The "doll" is actually a wad of cloth placed under the binding or sash in order to bring more pressure upon the abdomen. Many women wear this "doll" for months after childbirth, or even after they are past childbearing age because they are more comfortable with it. It is of interest to note that the use of the "doll" in this way was not mentioned in the monographs on Tzintzuntzan, Cherán, Mitla, or Chan Kom. [114]

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is "clean," that is, when bleeding stops. This sometimes occurs in the first week but more often in the second. After delivery it is obligatory to give the midwife something to eat as an expression of appreciation, but it is up to the family to decide what is given. Generally the midwife is offered chocolate or coffee and bread. Sometimes wine and cigarettes are also given. During and after the delivery, the midwife is not restricted in any way as to the food she may eat.[18]

The mother's milk generally flows after one or two days, sometimes even before the birth. If the milk does not appear by the second day, some midwives give the mother an *atole* of sesame seed, chick peas, chocolate, and cinnamon. Others give *necuatole* or *atole de alegría* made of ground corn, *chile pasilla*, *epazote*, and brown sugar. Another remedy is the penis of an ox, cut up and cooked. Sometimes the *flor de pascua* is boiled and taken by the mother. A few midwives place the baby at the mother's breast to stimulate the flow of milk. Many babies are nursed at another woman's breast until the mother's milk comes. During the day the wet nurse, usually a relative or a friend, comes to the child's house every three or four hours to nurse him. At night the child is taken to the wet nurse once or twice by the father or grandmother. There is no charge for the services of the wet nurse, but often the child's family sends her some meat to nourish her during this time. Some families are afraid to take a young infant out because of *los aires*, and it is fed cinnamon and water until the mother's milk begins to flow.

It is a common belief that the first milk is harmful to the infant and should be discarded. It is squeezed out and either thrown to the ground (this is called *nextlalxoka*, burying the first milk), or it is thrown over the roof (*monokia*) to prevent the mother's milk from going away. It is also thought that squeezing out the first milk hastens the flow of the true milk. If the mother has no milk, it is considered a calamity because the cost of a regular wet nurse is prohibitive, and many children die when put on a diet of cow's milk. Canned milk is now used safely but the expense is a heavy burden for most families.

The amount of attention and care given to the new mother in Tepoztlán is striking. At no other time are women accorded so much service and time for rest. This care consists of a prolonged period in bed, freedom from household duties, taking sweatbaths, and abstention from sexual intercourse.

The prime motive underlying this postnatal care is to delay a new pregnancy as long as possible. It is believed that early resumption of sexual intercourse causes the back to weaken and the menstrual flow to begin, thus making conception more probable. Women say that extended rest from work and sexual intercourse can

[18] We could find nothing to support Redfield's statements that "The midwife is magician-priest rather than obstetrician; she eats the same food as her patient as long as their relation of intimacy is maintained during postnatal care . . . during the first week, the new mother and the midwife, who must eat the same food as her patient, observe food restrictions." *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 136. Our questions concerning this called forth the same response from informants in Mitla; that is, they laughed at the thought and denied that it occurred. It should be noted that Redfield's account of the above, as well as other aspects of pregnancy and birth, is based on the report of a single informant and probably represents an individual variation.

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515 846 back of her husband. Although this is still done by many, the woman is now often carried on a board by two men. Some men find it embarrassing to carry their wives and hire someone to do it for them. Some of the younger women walk to the *temascal*. The new baby is also taken to the *temascal* with the mother and is briefly exposed to the steam, then carefully wrapped and taken home. Many modern [753] women disapprove of giving infants and small children sweatbaths and believe that they cause navel hemorrhages and even death. A bunch of *sapote* leaves are

[343]

Fig. 53. A sweathouse.

placed between the mother's thighs to cover the genitals. Throughout the bath, the midwife is assisted by a female relative of the mother. The midwife rubs the [278] mother's body with egg and alcohol, particularly on the face and back, for this mixture is thought to prevent *paño*.

The mother then lies down on the leaves, and spoonfuls of water are thrown into the fire to make it steam. The midwife rubs the mother with the brush of leaves. After this she asks for the *estropajo*, which is a brush of *ixtle* in the form of a [608] basket, containing a piece of soap. This basket may be made in the shape of an animal and is presented by the baby's godmother. Some women do not like to be washed with the *estropajo* because it is too harsh for their skins, and they use something else. The midwife washes the mother's entire body except for the genitals, which the mother washes herself. Warm water is thrown over her to wash off the soap, and she is dried. She is rebound and wrapped in a sheet and carried back to bed. When she leaves, the other women of the house, friends, and neighbors may take advantage of the hot *temascal* to bathe. These baths are taken by the mother every eight days for as long as she stays in bed. Almost everyone takes at least two *temascales*, and many take the traditional four. After the first *temascal*

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the mother may eat a greater variety of food. Most women continue to avoid black coffee and chile for one month because they "irritate." 846 [262]

When the mother has taken her last *temascal* and gets out of bed, she is usually given a boiled mixture of many herbs (*paclaposon*),[16] which she drinks before meals twice a day until two quarts are consumed. Some also take this before entering the first *temascal* and for one day thereafter. If the woman does not feel well before entering the second *temascal*, she may be given the same mixture of herbs *potlatextli*, which are now toasted and ground rather than boiled. If bleeding has not stopped after two months, the woman is again given *paclaposon*. Strained honey is also used because it provokes more bleeding which, it is thought, brings the end of bleeding closer. A mixture of herbs similar to a mustard plaster (*vilma*) may also be placed on the back. Excessive bleeding is attributed to a weakening of the back. 846 278

After leaving her bed, the mother is supposed to sit quietly with knees doubled under and to avoid walking or moving about for as long as she can. If she must walk, she goes very slowly with her thighs close together. If this is the first child, the mother may keep this up for three months; others return to normal moving about, in from one to two months. Only the most unfortunate women, however, do heavy work, such as washing and ironing before three months. In the past, women frequently did not work for as long as six months and were considered too weak to carry the baby. The new mother is not supposed to leave the house before the *sacamisa* attended by the new mother and child, which generally takes place in forty days or after the fourth *temascal*. If the mother leaves the house before this time, the baby's godmother may refuse to attend the *sacamisa*, on the grounds that the mother is not taking proper care of herself. 846 [481] [461] [851]

COMPARISON WITH OTHER MEXICAN COMMUNITIES

Many of the practices and beliefs concerning pregnancy and birth found in Tepoztlán are widespread in rural Mexico and have been reported for at least Tarascan (Tzintzuntzan and Cherán), Mayan (Chan Kom), and Zapotecan (Mitla and the Isthmus of Tehuantepec) groups. The similarity, even in small details, is sometimes quite striking. For example, we find that in Tzintzuntzan and Mitla the satisfaction of food whims during pregnancy is important. In Tzintzuntzan and Cherán, pregnant women should not urinate where an animal has urinated, and in both these communities, as well as in Mitla and in Tehuantepec,[18] there is fear that an eclipse may deform the unborn child. In Tzintzuntzan and Tehuante- 171 843 [844]

[16] The following herbs are placed in several gallons of water and boiled for twenty-four hours, or until one quart of the liquid remains: *cacamoxtl, cuch-kok-kok, pulmonaria, bretonica or ajalate, sangrinaria, cubrignale or cola de lagartcha, lengua de zejerba, neskaikhiavit, tachakan, saulik, tripa de judas or tzocili, tlacuavid, mononchi, ipatch katitl or algodoncillo, cascara de encino, flor de padre or doradillo or siempre viva, sakarkomatl or kuatrkomate*, and *tletlemaxinia or barbaloe*.

[18] Miguel Covarrubias, *Mexico South, the Isthmus of Tehuantepec* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), p. 342.

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177 511 [265] [275] aged foods, mostly to the employed people who live in the center. Old women sold ready-made tortillas in the plaza. There was still no restaurant but there were more saloons. A blare of radios came from the houses and inside some homes one saw a new kerosene or Coleman stove, aluminum pots, kerosene or gasoline lamps, forks, and hand presses for shaping tortillas. At least one home had overstuffed furniture.

[161] [362] But many more changes have occurred than meet the eye. As a result of the population increase—from 3,500 in 1940 to approximately 4,800 in 1957—there is a shortage of housesites and housing, and Tepoztecans petitioned the local government to make available some of the nearby communal lands for new housesites. Several homes have been built on the outskirts of the village and in the surrounding *cerros*. Formerly it was not customary to rent [427] a house; if a Tepoztecan had an extra house he would allow another villager to use it simply for the care of it. Now rental has become quite usual.

177 [759] Since the late forties Tepoztlán has had a resident doctor and since 1952 a doctor from Cuernavaca who formerly practiced in the village has come once a week to see his patients. The clientele of both doctors has been increasing. In 1950, the resident doctor had an average of 75 patients a [278] month; by 1956 the average was 160. Tepoztecans now complain about the expense of medicines and the delay caused by having prescriptions filled in Cuernavaca; the local "druggist" cannot fill prescriptions and carries few [743] patent medicines. The village has a free federal government health clinic [744] which cares for children and pregnant women and administers injections. About ten patients, most of them expectant mothers, come there every day. [751] In 1955 approximately two thousand vaccinations and revaccinations were given.

177 757 753 [759] [844] The clinic and the doctor have by no means replaced the *curanderos*, however. Tepoztecans believe that doctors can cure only certain diseases, and still frequent *curanderos* for those illnesses which they attribute to *los aires*, anger, hot or cold foods, evil eye, and sorcery. Most births are still attended by the native midwives. If the doctor happens to cure an illness thought to be caused by *los aires*, this is taken as proof that the *aires* were not truly the cause. Although the villagers have substituted new terms for old concepts—for example, *los aires* are now sometimes described as tiny animals or microbes and injections are called "cleansings"—it is questionable whether this represents much of a departure from the earlier magical thinking about the causes of disease.

177 241 [312] [377] [464] [314] Like many villages in the densely populated central plateau area, Tepoztlán has not had the benefit of the great new hydroelectric and irrigation projects. Its agricultural base has remained very much the same; there has been no mechanization and no new important cash crops have been introduced. The peasants continue to work their land as before, although a few are now using some commercial fertilizer. Because the lack of change in agriculture combined with the rapidly increasing population has forced Tepoztecans to seek work in nonfarm occupations, a much lower proportion of the gainfully occupied are now peasants. The federal campaign for the preservation of